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AUTHOR Scanlan, Peter A.; Dokecki, Paul R.
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ABSTRACT

This paper reports a research design guided by the hypothesis that adult constraint and peer cooperation exert conflicting forces on the development of racial awareness attitudes of 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds. Subjects were 60 preschoolers from Tennessee, with an equal number of white and black children at each age. Methodology used was a modified form of Porter's (1971) TV-Story Game. The method involved a doll-play interview during which the child, by doll choices, responded to structured questions set within a story-narrative. Opportunities were also made for the child to verbalize spontaneously to open-ended questions. Dependent variables were: racial awareness, racial attitude, and racial self-identification. Independent variables were: race, age, sex, social class, skin color shade, contact with children from a different race, region of the country, race of interviewer, presence or absence of social norms, and adult constraint vs peer influence. The rationale for the inclusion of peer influence and adult constraint was derived in part from Piaget's (1965) theory and investigation of the child's moral development. Each dependent and independent variable considered in this study is examined in view of past empirical findings. (JH)

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The Effects of Adult Constraint and Peer Influence on the Development of Racial Awareness-Attitudes of Three-, Four-, and Five-Year-Old Children

Peter A. Scanlan and Paul R. Dokecki

Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education
George Peabody College for Teachers

The purpose of this paper is to report a research design for the investigation of the effects of adult constraint and peer cooperation on the development of racial awareness-attitudes in children three to five years of age. The method involves a doll-play interview during which the child, by doll choices, responds to a set of structured questions that are set within the context of a story narrative. There are also opportunities during the interview for the child to verbalize spontaneously in response to open-ended questions and during a period of unstructured free play.

The history of the study of racial attitudes in young children reveals a gradual progression in the refinement of measurement techniques and the specification of relevant dependent and independent variables. Scanlan and Dokecki (1973) traced that history and its implication for future research in the field. The present study borrows from the findings of the past in its methodology and in the dependent and independent variables that it takes into consideration. It also introduces two related variables, peer influence, and adult constraint, which have not previously been systematically investigated for their effects on the development of the racial awareness-attitudes of preschool children.

In the following section, each dependent and independent variable that is considered in this study is examined in view of past empirical findings. First, the dependent variables are considered. They are racial awareness,

racial attitude, and racial self-identification. Secondly, the independent variables are examined. They are: race, age, sex, social class, shade of skin color (for black children), contact with children from a different racial group, region of the country, race of interviewer, presence or absence of social norms, and adult contraint vs. peer influence.

A. Dependent Variables

1. Awareness

Horowitz (1939) and the early Clark and Clark studies (1939a, 1939b, 1940) attempted to measure racial awareness on the basis of the child's ability to classify himself correctly on racial grounds. When Clark and Clark (1947) investigated the knowledge of racial terms by asking the child to identify the "white," "colored," and "Negro" doll, they found a significantly fewer number of black children able to identify correctly their own color than those who had a correct understanding of racial terms. They concluded that something besides simple awareness is operating here and that racial awareness cannot be measured by correctness of racial self-identification. Since the Clark and Clark (1947) study, others have used the knowledge of racial terms as an index of racial awareness (Ammons, 1950; Goodman, 1952; Landreth & Johnson, 1951; Morland, 1958, 1966; Porter, 1971).

Another measure of awareness involves matching doll families (Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971) or puzzle parts and doll parts (Goodman, 1952; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). Their approach, however, fails to distinguish between purely intellectual color matching and actual awareness of race as a social category.

Porter (1971) utilizes the above two dimensions of racial awareness, the knowledge of racial names (color terms index), and the ability to match families by color (color match index), and calls these the cognitive components of racial awareness. To these she adds a third dimension (color salience index) which she calls the affective dimension. The subject can match dolls by color, dress, or sex and thus reveals the hierarchy of relevance of these factors for him personally. Correlational analysis of these indices showed them to be independent of one another. The present study utilizes the color match and color salience indices. The color terms index will be excluded, however. The recent proliferation of racial terms makes the findings about knowledge of traditional racial terms like "Negro," "colored," and "white" less meaningful. Updated research in the knowledge of racial terms would be useful but would unduely complicate the present study.

2. Attitude

The Clark and Clark (1947) doll-play study demonstrated that, at each age from three to seven, a majority of black children prefer the white and reject the brown doll; however, this preference decreases gradually from five to seven years. Studies since that time have further documented white preference by children of both races (Ammons, 1950; Asher & Allen, 1969; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1962, 1966; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Radke, 1950). The most recent of these, Porter (1971), utilized most of the attitude indices of the previous studies. She used two items from each of three aspects of attitude: stereotype, preference, and social distance. These six items correlated well enough with one another to justify the construction of an overall attitude index. This

led her to conclude that stereotype, social distance, and affectual dimensions of attitude were not differentiated from each other in this age group. In general, Porter's findings support conclusively all the previous research that the white doll preferences of children of both races measures racial feelings. "Depending on the age of the child, these feelings range from actual attitudes to preferences attached to social categories which are dimly perceived [p. 86]."

The present study utilizes items similar to Porter's, representing the stereotype, preference, and social distance components of racial attitudes to see if her finding of no differentiation in their components can be replicated.

Spontaneous verbalizations by the subjects are also recorded and used as qualitative data. The use of spontaneous verbalizations of subjects to aid in the interpretation of various kinds of choices has been an integral part of many of the projective type racial attitude measures. Goodman (1952) and Porter (1971) used them extensively in interpreting their findings and assessing the extent and the strength of the attitudes they uncovered. Verbalizations of subjects have been used less extensively in other studies (Ammons, 1950; Clark & Clark, 1940, 1947; Horowitz, 1939; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Radke, 1950).

3. Self-Identification

Racial self-identification has continued to be an object of study since the Clark and Clark (1947) discovery that alone it is an inappropriate measure of racial awareness (Morland, 1963; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Yarrow, 1952). The most consistent agreement

among these studies concerns the tendency of many black children to identify themselves as white. White children have been found to identify themselves more correctly than black children (Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1963; Porter, 1971). Porter (1971) concludes that the failure of many black children to identify themselves correctly is an indication that they either wish that they were white or at least are ambivalent toward the fact that they are black. For white children, self-identification seems to demonstrate a strong attraction to their own racial group.

B. Independent Variables

Of the independent variables that have been found to effect racial awareness-attitudes in young children, the following are held constant in the present study: amount of contact with children from a different racial group, region of the country, race of interviewer (matched to race of subject). Social class and shade of skin color (for Negro children) will be allowed to vary randomly. Data are kept on them, however, so that post hoc investigation of their possible effects can be made. The following between subject variables are included in the analysis: race (Negro and Caucasian), age (3-5), and sex. Peer influence and adult constraint are within subject manipulated variables and are included to test the specific hypotheses of this study.

1. Age

Some studies have indicated the presence of awareness of racial characteristics in children as young as two-and-a-half years old (Ammons, 1950; Horowitz, 1939; Stevenson & Stevenson, 1960). It is not until age three, however, that the majority of children become aware of racial characteristics (Clark & Clark, 1947; Morland, 1958; Porter, 1971). At this

age, little social meaning is attached to the color differences. A big jump seems to occur on the level of attitude between the third and fourth years of age. Clark and Clark (1947) found that by age four black children show clear preference for white dolls. Morland (1962) found that for white children the big jump in white preference occurs between the ages of three and four. Ammons (1950) found a similar age progression for white children, with the four- and five-year olds showing scapegoating reactions to the black doll. Landreth and Johnson (1953), studying three- and five-year olds, found patterns of response to persons of different skin color to be present as early as age three and to become accentuated during the succeeding two years. Goodman (1952) studied only four-year olds and established definitively the existence within that age group of a relatively high degree of racial awareness and racial preference. Since her subjects were of the same age, however, she was not able to say anything about the growth of racial awareness-attitudes.

Porter (1971) confirmed previous findings that by the age of four the child is beginning to make an affect-laden connection between color and people. "The responses of four-year-olds indicate incipient racial attitudes: white and brown are beginning to be classified in terms of good and bad, and people of these colors are evaluated accordingly [p. 85]."

Porter's clear differentiation of measures of awareness and attitudes led her to confirm the existence of a first stage of racial attitude development that Allport (1954) calls the stage of pregeneralized learning where the child has vague preferences rather than clear cut evaluations attached to social categories. Porter's data indeed showed that even before they have a sophisticated knowledge of racial categories, children

of both races have a positive evaluation of white and a negative feeling about brown.

By age five, children reach yet another level of sophistication in their racial awareness-attitudes. Morland (1958) found that awareness had its faintest development during the child's fourth year. Trager and Radke (1950) found even among their five-year-old subjects an extensive comprehension of the social roles of blacks and whites. Porter (1971) found that by the fifth year the connection between color and race becomes clear and vague preferences have developed into real social attitudes. Whereas for some three- and most four-year olds there is a vague hierarchy of color preference, the feelings of the five-year olds begin to be more intense and to signify racial acceptance and rejection.

Clark and Clark (1947) felt justified in assuming that the crucial period in the formation and patterning of racial attitudes begins at around four and five years. Research since then has reinforced that justification. Between the age of three when the child begins to vaguely perceive color differences as important and the age of five when children have clear knowledge of racial differences and their racial attitudes are already rather sophisticated, crucial developmental processes are occurring. The present study attempts to examine some of those processes.

2. Race

Horowitz (1939) was the first to demonstrate that black children have a greater realization of racial differences than do white children. Goodman (1952) supported the inference made by Horowitz. Forty percent of her black subjects fell in the high awareness category, whereas only 24 percent of her white subjects were so classified. Such high awareness

among black subjects was supported by Porter (1971). Her study showed no difference between black and white children on the cognitive dimension of awareness (color terms and color match indices); however, on the affective dimension (color salience index) she found that color is both highly salient for blacks and more salient for them than it is for whites.

Other studies have found a reverse trend in awareness by race. Stevenson and Stewart (1958) and Morland (1958) found white children to make more correct identifications. These conflicting findings may be due to the fact that Stevenson and Stewart's and Morland's studies involved subjects from southern communities, whereas, Horowitz (1939), Goodman (1952), and Porter (1971) used subjects from northern communities. It could be that the differing social climates in these two regions of the country are the cause of the difference in children. The fact that both Stevenson and Stewart and Morland used white interviewers may also have affected the validity of their results in a southern segregated school.

With regard to attitudes, the differences by race are much clearer. That black children prefer the opposite (white) race while white children prefer their own race has been well documented. The strong outgroup orientation of the black child has been repeatedly reported (Asher & Allen, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1947, 1950; Goodman, 1952, Horowitz, 1939; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1962; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). Studies of children ages three to five indicate an ingroup orientation which involves a consistent tendency for them to prefer persons and objects signifying their own race (Ammons, 1950; Asher & Allen, 1969; Goodman, 1952; Horowitz, 1939; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1962; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager &

Radke, 1950). Porter (1971) summarizes the conclusions reached by the majority of these investigations: "The differential between whites and blacks in own-race choice is accounted for by rejection or ambivalence toward their own race on the part of many of the black children and either positive attitudes toward their own race or racially unrelated factors for the white sample [p. 73]."

The present study uses equal numbers of white and black children at each age level.

3. Sex

Among the studies concerned with sex differences in racial awareness-attitudes in young black children, the majority find no difference (Clark & Clark, 1947; Morland, 1958, 1962, 1966; Porter, 1971). The two studies that find sex differences are in conflict. Goodman (1952) reported that black girls were more aware of race differences than black boys. Asher and Allen (1969), in measuring preference, found that black boys favored the white puppet more than black girls. These findings are confounded, however, by a failure to control adequately for other factors such as social class and contact and a failure to distinguish awareness from attitude. Porter's (1971) consideration of these factors lends credibility to her finding that no sex trend operated for black children. She hypothesized that this may be due to the fact that race is so highly salient for black children that it overrides sex-related preference tendencies.

There is clearer evidence for sex differences in the racial awareness-attitudes of young white children. Only Morland (1958, 1962, 1966) found no difference in awareness by sex. Goodman (1952) found girls to be more highly aware than boys. Landreth and Johnson (1953) found sex to interact

with social class in its effect on racial awareness. They reported that among white children of upper socioeconomic background girls were more aware of race differences than boys, while among the lower socioeconomic background children boys were more aware of race differences than girls. Without controlling other variables, Asher and Allen (1969) found that white boys exhibited greater white preference than white girls. Porter (1971), controlling for social class and race, found sex and contact to interact in their effect on the racial attitudes of white children. She found that white males in a desegregated setting chose brown dolls more often than did white males in a segregated environment. White females, however, chose the brown dolls less frequently in desegregated schools than in segregated schools.

These findings suggest a complex interaction of sex, social class, and contact on the awareness-attitudes of young children, especially white children. Since in the present study sex will be a between subject variable, social class will vary randomly, and contact will be held constant (desegregated setting), interpretation of the findings with regard to sex will have to be made cautiously.

4. Social Class

Landreth and Johnson (1953) reported that white children from upper socioeconomic backgrounds were more aware of race differences than children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Morland (1959), however, found no significant difference in racial awareness between upper and lower socioeconomic groups of white children. Asher and Allen (1969) found no difference between middle- and working-class white children in racial attitude scores.

Porter (1971) has brought some clarity to the question of the effects of social class on racial awareness-attitudes in young children. Among the white children, working-class and lower-class children showed more white doll preference than did middle-class children. They also tended to express tolerant attitudes less frequently than did middle-class children. Among the black children, a more complicated pattern emerged. Working-class children exhibited more preference for brown dolls (and more overt verbal hostility toward whites) than did their middle-class peers. Those in the welfare (from ADC recipient families) group fell between the other two groups in doll choice but was somewhat closer to the middle class in their attitudes.

In the present study, social class varies randomly. Data is kept on it but is not included in the original analysis. Post hoc analysis is used to investigate its possible influence on the results. This influence is not expected to be strong since social class will be relatively constant across subjects. Most of them are from the working-class group.

5. Shade of Skin Color

Only two investigators have seriously studied the effects of the shade of skin color of black children on their racial awareness-attitudes (Clark & Clark, 1940, 1947, 1950; Porter, 1971). The Clark and Clark findings are confusing. In their doll-play study (1947), they found that although all groups of black children prefer white, the dark- and medium-skinned subjects have more tendency than their lighter counterparts to prefer the black doll. Results of a coloring test (1950), however, showed the opposite trend. The very dark subjects were less likely than their light and medium counterparts to prefer brown. These findings indicated that some

effect of skin color was operating. Because the Clarks confounded the variables of region and amount of contact and ignored the fact of social class altogether, and because skin color seems to correlate to some extent with these variables, the interpretation of its effect is unclear.

Using more sophisticated techniques, Porter (1971) was able to clarify the effects of shade of skin color. Controlling for social class, she found that contact and shade of skin color interact in their effect on awareness-attitudes of black children. At all social class levels, light-skinned children showed more own-race preference in a segregated setting than did dark-skinned children. In desegregated environments, light-skinned children showed less own-race preference than did their darker counterparts.

In the present study, shade of skin color of the black subjects varies randomly. As with social class, data will be collected on this variable for post hoc analysis of its possible effects.

6. Contact

Clark and Clark (1947) found that black children in an integrated northern school reacted to their test with more intense emotion than did the segregated southern subjects. They also tended to misidentify themselves more often than the segregated southern subjects. Goodman (1952) reported similar findings: that high awareness was a little more frequent among children in her segregated black groups than among children in mixed groups. These findings were far from clear, however. The Clark and Clark study did not distinguish the variables of contact and region of the country, nor did they consider the important variable of social class. Goodman's findings are based on conclusions drawn from qualitative data in which other important variables were not considered.

Porter (1971), controlling for social class found that the effects of sex and contact interact to influence the formation of the attitudes of white children. (See section on sex as a variable.) For black children she found that contact interacted with shade of skin color in its effects on the formation of racial attitudes. (See section on shade of skin color as a variable.)

7. Region

Only two investigators have made direct comparisons of the racial awareness-attitudes of children in different sections of the country (Clark & Clark, 1939b, 1947, 1950; Morland, 1966). Clark and Clark (1947) discovered no significant difference in race awareness between northern black children and southern black children. However, as has been indicated, they failed to separate variables of region and contact. Morland (1966) also confounded the variables of contact and region since most of his northern subjects were from integrated schools and his southern subjects were from segregated schools. He found that northern and southern black subjects differed significantly on only one of his seven measures, racial preference. Northern and southern white children differed on two of the seven measures, racial recognition and identification of mother. There is still a great need for investigation of the differences in racial awareness-attitudes between children of different parts of the country. The present study will hold this variable constant, as all the subjects will be from the Nashville, Tennessee area, a large city in the mid-south.

8. Race of Interviewer

Many studies of racial awareness-attitudes in young children have controlled for the race-of-interviewer variable by matching the race of

interviewer and race of subject (Asher & Allen, 1969; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Radke, 1950). Morland (1962) stated that in pretesting, using black interviewers, he found no significant differences in response by race of intervewer. Porter (1971) matched race of interviewer and race of subject for most of her subjects. However, she interviewed a portion of the subjects of both races herself. She interviewed only black children in integrated schools. Only black interviewers worked with black children in segregated settings. She cited the work of Irwin Katz (1964a, 1964b, 1968) on the effects of race of experimenter as a rationale for this procedure. She found that her results in integrated schools were not affected by bias toward the experimenter. But she suggested that with a technique less projective than hers only a black interviewer should be used even in integrated schools. Since the technique of the present study is somewhat less projective than Porter's, a white male interviewer is used for all subjects.

9. Peer Influence and Adult Constraint

These two interrelated variables form the central focus of the present study. The rationale for their inclusion is derived from Piaget's (1965) theory and empirical investigation of the development of the moral judgment of the child and also from indirect indication of the effect of these variables as reported in the literature pertaining to racial awareness-attitudes in young children.

From an intensive investigation of children's observance and attitudes toward the rules of the game of marbles, Piaget (1965) built a theory of the development of moral judgment in the child.

> There seems to exist in the child two separate moralities, of which, incidentally, the consequences can also be discerned in adult morality. These two moralities are due to formative processes which, broadly speaking, follow one another without, however, constituting definite stages. It is possible, moreover, to note the existence of an intermediate phase. The first of these processes is the moral constraint of the adult, a constraint that leads to heteronomy and consequently to moral realism. The second is cooperation which leads to autonomy. Between the two can be discerned a phase during which rules and commands are interiorized and generalized [pp. 194-195].

He applied this concept of dual moralities in the child to the domain of justice by studying children's attitudes toward stealing and lying and it is in this connection that its application to development of racial awareness-attitudes is found.

> The ethics of authority (adult constraint), which is that of duty and obedience, leads, in the domain of justice, to the confusion of what is just with the content of established law and to the acceptance of expiatory punishment. The ethics of mutual respect (from cooperation or peer influence) which is that of good (as opposed to duty), and of autonomy, leads, in the domain of justice, to the development of equality, which is the idea at the bottom of distributive justice and of reciprocity [p. 324].

It is an easy step from the "domain of justice" to the domain of racial justice.

In answering the question of how these two moralities and the forces causing them affect the development of the concept of racial justice in the young child, one must take note of Piaget's cautions with regard to stages and the ages at which they occur. He says that although there is a standard progression of development that appears, the stages may overlap and the age levels at which they occur vary. Taking these points into consideration, it is assumed that the subjects of the present study, aged three, four, and five, for the most part fall in the first stage of the development of moral judgments when the forces of adult constraint are at their height.

The influences of peer cooperation are beginning to be felt with the ensuing struggle between these forces for control over the child's judgments and actions.

The hypothesis guiding the present study is that the forces of adult constraint and peer cooperation exert conflicting forces on the development of racial awareness-attitudes of three-, four-, and five-year-old children. At these age levels, adult constraint is the stronger of the two forces and reinforces the natural egocentrism of the child. This egocentrism can be defined as a spontaneous state that gives the child a mind set for reifying what he sees and hears, to consider all things as unchangeable reality, part of a necessary world order. Reinforcing this egocentrism of the child is adult constraint. The adult is part of the child's universe, and the conduct and commands of the adult thus constitute the most important element in the child's reified world-order. The child accepts what comes from the adult, either directly or indirectly, as truth and integral part of the world-order. These two forces result in what Piaget calls moral realism, a morality of extremes in which the child accepts even contradictory social norms that come down to him from the adult world. In the area of racial awareness-attitudes, the effects of adult constraint should be especially strong since social norms are among the strongest that the child experiences. The formula that white is to be preferred to brown reinforces the child's egocentric tendency to categorize. The distinctions that had previously been based only on color now take on broader social meanings, meanings transmitted through the culture and its principal agents, the parents.

It is, Piaget says, cooperation that "delivers the child both from egocentrism and from the results of this (adult) constraint [p. 187]." Gradually as the child begins to interact more with his peers, the subjection of his conscience to the mind of an adult seems to him less legitimate. His attitude toward authority becomes less heteronomous and more autonomous. He begins to accept concepts of equality and reciprocity which are based on his experience with his peers, and gradually also with adults. The subjects of the present study are still primarily influenced by adult constraint in their expression of their racial awareness-attitudes. They will for the most part reflect the culturally promoted value of white over brown. However, they will also be experiencing the conflicting influence of cooperation, especially through peer interaction in school and play settings. Their experience, tending toward the development of concepts of equality (not necessarily across race, but across children), conflicts with the cultural norm that states that white is better than brown. It is hypothesized that this conflict and the resulting difference in expression of racial awareness-attitudes is reflected in the two experimental situations of this study.

A further hypothesis, which will not be tested in the present study but which deserves investigation, is that the forces of adult constraint in the area of racial awareness-attitudes are so forceful that they eventually overpower and hinder the development of the forces of cooperation. Normally, in the moral development of the child, Piaget says, "unilateral respect tends of itself to grow into mutual respect and to the state of cooperation which constitutes the normal equilibrium [p. 324]." In the area of racial awareness-attitudes, the social norms are so against the

growth of mutual respect that, as imposed on the child through adult constraint, they counteract the normal development of equalitatian attitudes. Hence, in many people the stage of moral realism in the area of racial justice is never surpassed. This study will attempt to show that the struggle between the forces of adult constraint and peer cooperation on the development of racial awareness-attitudes is still being waged in children three to five years of age.

Indirect support for the above hypothesis can be found in several of the empirical studies of racial awareness-attitudes in young children. The strongest support comes from a study by Ammons (1950). He used a projective doll-play technique to study two-to-six-year-old white males. In one question, the subject was asked which of two dolls (black or white) broke the balloon and who is hit by the teacher for this. There was a significantly greater blaming of the black doll than of the white doll, and in almost every case the same doll was punished as was blamed. This result was in contrast to analysis of responses to direct aggression where the doll of one race was made to hit the doll of another race and the subject was asked what the attacked doll does. In these cases, there was almost exactly the same amount of aggression expressed toward the white doll as toward the black doll. Ammons concluded,

> It would seem that aggression can be freely answered by aggression in this group, regardless of skin color, but that when blame is to be placed for something, there is a tendency to scapegoat on a racial basis [pp. 331-332].

If the application of Piaget's theory of the development of moral judgment to the development of racial awareness-attitudes is correct, it could explain the difference that Ammons found. Aggression could be fully answered by aggression because it took place in a setting relatively free

of adult influence and reflected the subjects' growing experience of peer interaction. The scapegoating, on the other hand, took place in a situation where an adult was present (teacher doll) and where a social norm (punishment for wrong done) was to be enforced.

E. L. Horowitz (1936) found that in a group of Communist children, aged 5 through 13, the typical preference for white did not emerge. From this finding he hypothesized, "It seems that attitudes toward Negroes are now chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes [p. 35]." For children aged three to five the parents are the most common source for such contact with prevalent social attitudes.

Clark (1963) states that there is no consistent evidence that parents always play a crucial continuing role in the transmission of prevailing racial attitudes in their children, however, there are studies which point to a strong influence during the child's early years. Trager, Radke, and Davis (1949), studying five-to-eight-year-old black and white children, concluded from the subjects' free verbalizations that they accept adult attitudes toward racial groups. Landreth and Johnson (1953) reported that children of parents engaged in professions perceived skin color in cognitive terms, whereas children of parents engaged in semi-skilled occupations perceive it in affective terms. They concluded that "what they learn in their first five years about skin color appears to be related to their parents' occupation, education, intelligence, and residential neighborhood [p. 78]."

Observational studies of the interactions of black and white in a desegregated setting have found no evidence that the levels of racial

awareness-attitudes expressed by children in structured testing situations affects actual behavior (Goodman, 195?; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stevenson, 1958). For children three to five years of age, factors like sex, personality, and play style seem to be more salient determinants of friendship and behavior than does race. These findings add indirect support to the hypothesis of the differential effects of adult constraint and peer interaction.

Even where the effects of adult constraint are not directly introduced into the structured attitude test, the adult interviewer, by the fact that he is an adult, brings those effects with him. In this an unavoidable limitation of the present study must be recognized.

There are two ways that the influence of adult constraint, as defined, can vary in a projective doll-play type measure of racial awareness-attitudes such as will be used in the present study. Adult dolls can be introduced into the doll-play directly. Less directly the influence of adult constraint can be introduced by a situation that calls for the enforcement of rules or social norms which children learn from adults. In the present study, the direct influence of adult constraint vs. peer interaction will be introduced by two within subject experimental situations, one with adult dolls present and one without. The indirect influence of social norms vs. absence of social norms will be introduced into each of these experimental situations.

C. Method of Inquiry

1. Subjects

There are 60 subjects in this study. They are drawn from three preschool programs on the George Peabody College campus in Nashville, Tennessee.

2. Technique

Scanlan and Dokecki (1973) reviewed the various techniques that have been used to measure racial awareness-attitudes in children three to five years of age and concluded that the doll-play technique is the most appropriate for use with children in this age range. In the present study, Porter's (1971) TV-Story Game is used in a modified form that allows for an investigation of the effects of adult constraint vs. peer influence on racial attitude development and a greater opportunity for the subjects to offer unstructured verbal material.

In Porter's TV-Story Game, the subjects helped the interviewer tell a story using two stage sets, one representing a school classroom and the other a living room in a home. Within the context of the stories, there was a series of structured questions to which the subject responded by choosing one of two dolls which differed in race. Opportunities were also provided for the subject to expand verbally on the stories and for a period of unstructured free play.

The present study used the format of Porter's TV-Story Game with some modifications. One modification is in the story situation. There is a dining room setting in a home and a playground setting. Porter's two settings were a school room where only child dolls were involved in the story and a living room of a home where child dolls interacted with each other and with a mother doll. The reason they have been changed for the present study is to allow for a differentiation between situations where a child is influenced by adult constraint and situations where there is peer-only interaction. Porter's scenes do not differentiate in this way: There is very little child-adult interaction in the home setting story; and,

while there are no adults in the school setting story, the school itself could easily symbolize and exert the force of adult constraint on the child. Porter treated the data from both settings together. In the present study the dining room setting will involve male and female adult dolls and dolls representing preschool age children. The playground setting will involve only dolls representing children in a setting as far removed as possible from adult influence. The attitude measures will be repeated in each story in varying form so that a comparison can be made between the subjects' responses in each setting.

A second modification of Porter's technique is a broadening of the number of dolls from which a subject may choose in response to the structured attitude questions. Porter offered two dolls which were of the same sex as the subject but which differed in race. In the present study, the subject is still presented with four dolls, two males differing in race and two females differing in race. The questions are stated in such a way that the child can respond by choosing any number of the four dolls he wishes. This is done to get away from the forced choice nature which has characterized all of the past racial attitude studies of this kind. Color preferences that emerge from this broadened scope of choice are a clearer indication that doll choice reflects racial attitude.

The third modification made in Porter's technique is to have the main character of the stories represent the subject directly. In Porter's test, the subject was told that this was going to be a story about a boy (or girl) named Johnny who looked just like him. In the present study, the subject is told that this is going to be a story about him. Part of the reason for a more indirect approach is to guard against adverse affect

on the subject. Such could result if the subject were asked to talk about the racial implications of his real life situation, such as his relationships with actual classmates. The present study remains hypothetical and projective enough to avoid this danger. It is also projective enough and involving for the subject to avoid the danger of the subject failing to reveal his true feelings.

A fourth modification of Porter's method is the exclusion of the color terms index. The proliferation of racial labels in the last decade makes it difficult to infer anything from a child's knowledge of the traditional terms "Negro," "colored," and "white." To broaden the index to make it current with present usuage would unduely complicate the present procedure.

Porter's other awareness indices (color match index, and color salience index) will be retained as well as the self-identification index.

3. Procedure

The child will be brought into the room where the first stage to be used will be set up on the floor. (The order of presentation of the two story situations will vary randomly across subjects). The other stage will be turned so that its front is out of view and the dolls hidden behind it. The situation that will be presented to each subject is described below:

> "Do you like to watch TV? What programs do you like best? (The interviewer should feel free to pursue these questions to put the child at ease.) Do you know what we're going to do now? We're going to make up our own TV story. We're going to use dolls and doll houses to help tell our story.
>
> "We're going to pretend that this is your house and that this is the room where you eat your meals. This is going to be a TV story about you at home. Which one of these dolls will be you in our story? (Experimenter presents black and white dolls of same sex as the child). All right, now you hold the doll that's going to be you (rejected doll is removed from view). You and the grown ups in your family are getting ready to eat

supper. Who are the grown-ups in your family? Which of these dolls do you want to be those grown-ups?

"Let's pretend that tonight four other children are coming to eat supper with you and your mommy and daddy (identify the grown-ups). Here come the four children now (four dolls: two males differing in race and dressed identically and two females differing in race and dressed identically). They come in the house and are talking to you and your mommy and daddy. Do your mommy and daddy (the grown-ups) like children who are good and kind? Do they like children who are mean and nasty? Which of these children who came to your house are mean and nasty? Which of these children are good and kind?

"Now you can tell a story about what happens at dinner. You can move the dolls around if you like.

"After dinner there was cake for dessert. Everyone had a piece but there was one piece left. Which one of the four children would you give the piece of cake to? Why would you give it to that child?

"Later mommy and daddy (the grown-ups) are going to take you for a ride in their car. Which of these children do you want them to take with you?

"Before you leave, you and the children were playing around the table and some of the dishes got broken. This makes your mommy and daddy (the grown-ups) angry. Which children broke the plates?

"Why don't we tell a different story now? This is going to be a TV story about you on the playground. Which one of these dolls will be you in our story? (Experimenter presents a black and a white doll of same sex as the child, but dressed differently than the pair presented in the first story.) All right, you hold the doll that's going to be you. In the playground you see four other children playing. Which of these children do you think are mean and nasty? Which of these children do you think are good and kind?

"Now you can tell a story about what happens in the playground.

"Let's pretend you are swinging and all the other children want to swing. Which one would you give the swing to? Why would you give it to that child?

"Next you decide to go swimming. Which of these children would you take swimming with you?

"Later you and the other children were playing a game and the rules were broken. Which children broke the rules and didn't play fair?

"O.K., would you like to make your own TV show all by yourself? You can use both the house and the playground and any of the dolls you want."

(The child is allowed to play. As the subject's attention begins to wander, the experimenter presents him with four dolls of the same sex as he is. The dolls can be matched by either race or dress, since the dolls which are dressed alike are of opposite races. After the subject is asked to select the two dolls that look most alike, he is given the opportunity to match by either race or sex. To do this he is presented four dolls all dressed differently, of which there is a white boy and girl and a black boy and girl. The subject is told that he did very well and taken back into the classroom.)

4. Equipment

The stage sets are made from plywood. They are two-sided with a floor and are painted to indicate the appropriate setting.

The dolls are taken from Flagg Doll Family sets made by Constructive Playthings. The dolls are racially differentiated by skin and hair color. The white dolls have brown and blond hair. The black dolls have a medium brown skin color and black hair. They are made of a flexible substance that allows them to be bent into different shapes, and they appear to be very durable.

D. The Dependent Variables

1. Self-identification

Each child has two opportunities to identify himself racially at the beginning of each story ("Which one of these dolls will be you in our story?"). To be scored correctly, the subject has to choose correctly both times.

2. Awareness

   a. Color match index: matches adult dolls with race of principal actor in home story

   b. Color salience

      (1) Dress vs. color salience: matches dolls by dress or by color

      (2) Sex vs. color salience: matches dolls by sex or by color

3. Attitude

   a. Adult constraint situation

      (1) Evaluation items

         (a) Positive evaluation: which dolls are "good and kind"?

         (b) Negative evaluation: which dolls are "mean and nasty"?

      (2) Preference items

         (a) Social norm: "Which children broke the plates?"

         (b) No social norm: "Which one of the four children would you give the piece of cake to?"

      (3) Social distance item: "Which of the children do you want them (parents) to take with you?"

   b. Peer interaction situation

      (1) Evaluation items

         (a) Positive evaluation: which of the dolls are "good and kind"?

         (b) Negative evaluation: which of the dolls are "mean and nasty"?

      (2) Preference items

         (a) Social norm: "Which children broke the rules and didn't play fair?"

(b) No social norm: "Which one would you give the swing to?"

(3) Social distance item: "Which of these children would you take swimming with you?"

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